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the men. Roggeveen, however, states that only two or three old women were seen. [175 609]

From scant information given in Roggeveen's log (186) it is apparent that the ships anchored on the north coast, probably at La Pérouse. Fearing for the security of his vessels when a northerly wind blew up and convinced that Easter Island was not the land of Davis, Roggeveen made no attempt at a more thorough exploration of the island and sailed forth on the tenth of April.

The experiences of all later visitors in their dealings with natives were very much the same as that of Roggeveen at this first contact. Despite the nearly complete change of their culture, the natives of today react no differently to the arrival of a foreign ship. They evince the same curiosity, they are gripped by the same excitement, and the same noisy crowd awaits the landing boats. The women are no less generous with their persons, and the men no less prone to petty thievery if opportunity comes their way. 175 609 [181]

The main sources for the events which accompanied the discovery of Easter Island are Roggeveen's log book (186) and the narrative of Carl Friederich Behrens (18). Roggeveen's account is precise and accurate in details; Behrens' famous description of Easter Island is one of the most fanciful and misleading documents we have. 175 114

In a new effort to reach the land of Davis, a Spanish expedition, under the command of Felipe Gonzalez y Haedo, rediscovered Easter Island in 1770. The two Spanish ships were anchored outside the cove of La Pérouse (Hanga-o-honu), but disembarkation was made on the beach of Ovahe. In order to chart the island which Gonzalez believed he was the first to discover, a boat was sent around the island which returned the following day after having stopped for the night near Vinapu on the south coast. A party was then landed to reconnoiter the interior and distract the natives, while another group ascended the slope of Poike with three crosses to be planted on the tops of the three parasitic cones on the side of Puakatiki, thus solemnly taking possession of the island in the name of Spain. Natives, invited to sign the act of possession, made marks on the lower part of the document and by so doing became Spanish subjects. Relations with the natives were cordial. The crews had been given strict orders not to molest them, and exchanges went on quite satisfactorily, although the Spaniards noticed the thievery of the natives and were bothered by their begging. The women invited the visitors to have sexual intercourse with them, and the island men were often the intermediaries in these affairs. The Spaniards seem to have disembarked infrequently, and the exploration of the interior of the island was neglected. The Spanish ships left after six days. 175 [648] [609] [837]

Captain Cook visited Easter Island during his second voyage to the South Seas (1772-1775). He stopped for three days in the bay of Hanga-roa, now

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appeared the most eager to render us a thousand services, was, in reality, ever the most to be suspected."

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Following Cook's example, La Pérouse sent an expedition to explore the interior of the island. This party, led by M. de Langle, covered almost the same route as that of the English, and very few new data were recorded. The reconnaissance of the south coast was not carried farther than Ovahe. On the way back the party ascended the Rano-kao, and one of the members even descended into the crater, where he examined the lake and the fringe of vegetation around its edge.

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The visit of La Pérouse marks the first attempt of white men to modify native culture by introducing new plants and domestic animals. The gardener of the expedition planted in appropriate soil cabbages, carrots, beets, corn, gourds, oranges, lemons, and cotton (130, vol. 1, p. 90). A couple of goats, sheep, and pigs were presented to the natives. The islanders seem to have received no particular benefit from these gifts, and none of the animals or plants is mentioned by subsequent voyagers. Sixty years later, the same food sources were reintroduced by the missionaries. Brown (27, p. 64) claims to have heard a tradition which alluded to the pigs left by the French navigator. They were supposedly kept in a hole, fed on bananas and sweet potatoes, and finally eaten together with their litter. I found no evidence that the pigs referred to in the tradition were the hog and sow given by La Pérouse. They were designated to me as animals put on the island by a boat of more recent times.

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The La Pérouse Expedition made an invaluable contribution to the ethnography of Easter Island. A geographical engineer, M. Bernizet, described the houses and the monuments of the natives with the greatest technical accuracy, and an artist represented them with exactness and ability.

In 1804 the Russian boat *Neva*, under Urey Lisiansky, sailed around the island for four days but made no attempt to land (143, pp. 51-60).

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Shortly after the visit of the *Neva*, the captain of the American schooner *Nancy* kidnapped 12 men and 10 women after a bloody combat with the natives. The victims were to have been taken to the island of Massafuero, where a colony was to be established for seal hunting. When the boat was three days off Easter Island, the prisoners were allowed on deck. The men immediately jumped overboard and swam in the direction of their home. Efforts of the captain to rescue them were vain. This same captain made several raids on the island to recruit seamen for the same project. These attacks changed the friendly attitude of the natives toward foreigners to distrust and hostility. For this reason, when Alexander Adams, captain of the Hawaiian brig the *Kahu-manu* (1806) and Captain Winship of the *Albatross* (1809) arrived at the island they were unable to land (127, vol. 1, pp. 142-144).

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175 ashore but rescued the second day. James Hamilton observed that the Easter
[177] Islanders had boats of the European type. "I do not think," he remarks, "they came honestly by them, if so I think the master who gave them knowing their character for treachery, is highly culpable for I think a ship would not be safe off here, and I think there are strong reasons for that opinion from the value they appeared to set upon mine, and they know a ship's value; it would be of immense value to them." Frequent visits of the whalers to Easter Island are mentioned by Father Ollivier (165, vol. 38, p. 46).

175 About 1859, exploitation of the guano on the islands off the Peruvian
●648 coast was a prosperous business, but the number of workers was insufficient. The recruiting of labor by force became a flourishing industry. As early as 1859 or 1860 some Easter Islanders were kidnapped from their island and sold as slaves, but in 1862 a real war expedition was planned against the island. The only official version of this raid, which was to have such dire consequences for the island, is the following report of the French Prosecutor in Papeete (129, pp. 543-544):

> The *Cora* left the Callao the 4th of December 1862 with the mission of recruiting workers throughout Oceania. Arrived on Easter Island, the 19th of December, she found 7 ships of the same country which were already there for the same purpose. The captains of these different vessels who had hoped to obtain workers by persuasion resolved to kidnap them. The 23 of December a gang composed of 80 of these scoundrels, among whom were 7 or 8 men of the *Cora*, went ashore with their weapons, under the command of the captain of the *Rosa-Carmen*.
>
> They spread themselves out while several members of the crew attracted the natives by showing them articles which excited their greed. When about 500 natives were gathered, the chief of the pirates gave the signal, which was a revolver shot. To this signal the men answered with a volley, and about ten natives fell never to rise again. The others, terrified, tried to escape, running in all directions, some diving into the sea, others climbing the rocks; but 200 were captured and firmly tied up. A witness says that the captain of the *Cora*, Aiguirre, discovered two Indians in a cave trying to escape. As he could not convince them to come with him, he cruelly killed them. The 200 kidnapped natives were divided among the ships, which sailed some days later.

The commander of the *Topaze* (1868) says in his report (180, p. 141) that the natives who went in their canoes to barter with the Peruvian ships were captured first and then the seamen landed and kidnapped others. Several hundred were taken in that way. In 1915 there were still some old men who remembered this event. For Mrs. Routledge (194, p. 205) they illustrated by action how the raiders threw to the ground gifts which they thought most likely to attract the inhabitants and how, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for the gifts, they tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. Among those kidnapped were the king, Kaimakoi, and his son, Maurata as well as most of the learned men (*maori*). They all died on the guano islands. The raid completely disheartened the natives. To escape from future slave raids the islanders took refuge in the

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caves, where they lived in great discomfort and constant anxiety, neglecting the cultivation of their fields.

At the request of Mgr. Jaussen, representation was made to the Peruvian government by the French minister in Lima. The British government backed France in demanding justice for the enslaved islanders. Orders were given to assemble the blackbirds at Callao so that they might be sent back to their homes. Tuberculosis, smallpox, and the change of living conditions and climate, together with unsuitable food and the hardships of guano digging on the barren islands off the Peruvian coast had killed about 900 natives in less than one year. Before the surviving 100 could be put on board ship, many of them contracted smallpox and 85 died before the end of the journey. Only 15 were landed on the island, and they carried with them the infection of smallpox, which in a very short time decimated the rest of the population. The casualties caused by the epidemic are said to have been in the thousands (64, pp. 256-257). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) adds: "The inexperience of the natives, the lack of remedies, their imprudent practices, all increased the number of victims to such an extent that they were unable to bury them."

During these few years the native culture crumbled; the old racial order was destroyed, the population reduced to one third or one quarter of its size, and the transmission of the religious and moral traditions was suddenly interrupted. Internecine wars completed the island's ruin. Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) writes:

> The former inhabitants of the island had left rather good plantations. Those who remained had an easy living and indulged in their natural laziness, not caring to insure their future by working. But when they came to the time to share the products of the fields, quarrels arose which rapidly degenerated into dangerous wars. These fights brought waste and plundering and consequently starvation. That is why the population decreased so rapidly.

Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 257) alludes to this period of anarchy and misery in the following terms:

> The mortality caused by misery and famine is increasing rapidly. The plantations have been plundered and they give scarcely any sweet potatoes, which these unhappy people eat half raw. It must be added that laziness and carelessness make their situation even worse. It is necessary for some brother with the energy of Brother Eyraud to start new plantations in the lands near the sea in order that help may be given to this starving people. It would be possible then to take care of all the children, made orphans by the death of their parents or by abandonment, who lead vagrant lives.

At this time, not before, there developed the gap between present and past which makes so difficult the understanding of many aspects of the Easter Island culture. The missionaries were struck by the native's lack of interest in their traditions and lack of knowledge of their history. They were surprised also to notice how little was left of the old religion and of the ancient social organization.

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documents which have been recorded. The chants and native poetry published by Thomson were transcribed and translated by Salmon, who also obtained the long list of kings which is given in the same paper. 175 114

During 1914-1915 Mrs. Routledge spent 16 months on the island and thoroughly studied its archaeology and ethnology. Unfortunately only the popular account (194) of this expedition and a monograph on Orongo (195) have been published. Routledge's survey seems to have been very detailed, and it is regrettable that her findings have not been made available.

Although France had certain rights on the island, she formally renounced them, and in 1888 the Chilean captain, Policarpo Toro, annexed the island for Chile. An unsuccessful attempt at colonization was made by Pedro Toro Hurtado, who took a group of Chileans to the island. Mr. H. Merlet of Valparaiso acquired from the representatives of Brander, Dutroux-Bornier, and Salmon the interests they held on Easter Island. The Chilean government leased the whole island with the exception of the village of Hanga-roa and the near-by lands which remained the property of the natives. The interests purchased by Merlet were sold to the Compania Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (Williamson and Balfour Co.) who still own the land. 175 648

Every year the Chilean training ship *Baquedano* goes to Easter Island. The commander of the ship has a supervisory authority and settles all the conflicts which have arisen during the year. Unfortunately the *Baquedano* stops at the island for only a few days, and the various problems of the natives can receive but superficial treatment. The training ship carries to the island old clothes given by Chilean families. These are distributed among the natives, very often in exchange for curios. 648

The Williamson and Balfour Co. is the only real link the natives have with western civilization. It gives them work and the opportunity to buy the European articles and food they need. Of the 61 square miles, 7.72 square miles belong to the natives; the rest belongs to the company. At present the natives have more land than they need and cultivate only a part of it. When a young couple marries, the government gives them 10 hectares. Perhaps in the distant future, if the population continues to increase at the present rate, the islanders will need more land. With the exception of employees of the company, the natives are not allowed to cross the boundaries of the strip of land which is reserved for them. This measure, which may seem drastic, has been taken to prevent sheep stealing, which is carried on by natives as a kind of sport. Despite barbed wire, no week passes in which they fail to organize a raid on the sheep. Between two and three thousand animals disappeared thus in 1934. 177 423 674

A few natives are permanent employees of the company. They watch the gates which give access to the company's property, form night patrols, and do routine work on the farms. At shearing time most of the young men and women on the island gather at Vai-tea, the farm in the middle of the island, 464

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464 for a fortnight of intense activity. Shearing is their only means of making money to acquire necessary goods. They are paid according to the number of sheep they shear per day. Those who are skillful may earn as much as
[465] two or three hundred pesos during the season; even young girls make as much as 12 pesos a day. Such salaries, when compared with those of the working classes in Chile, are bountiful. Shearing time is the greatest event of the year, and it has taken the place of the old native feasts. The work, with its competitive aspect and the gathering of the young people in an isolated part of the island, breaks the monotony of daily life.

465 The standard salary for a day's work, established by the Chilean government, is 4 pesos plus half a sheep and other minor rations. The company has taken great care to give the natives a chance to benefit from the exploitation of the island. Export of corn has recently become a possible source of profit, and the company has tried to encourage the natives to cultivate maize. At the present time only two or three natives have taken advantage of this new source of income.

435 The most coveted foreign goods are clothes, soap, and perfume. The
439 first things the natives ask for aboard a foreign ship are shirts and trousers.
463 Money is accepted, but a shirt is preferred to a sum of money four or five times as great as the value of the article. In order to obtain clothes, they resort to the making of curios, the most flourishing industry of the island. The men carve wooden images, canes, and swords; and the women plait hats, crowns, or feather strings. Most individuals are able to produce these articles, but some are unusually gifted and have specialized in their crafts. Those who want a stock of curios to trade during the visit of a ship may acquire from the experts articles to trade on their own account. As the ships that visit the island are generally warships or freighters, it is easier for the men to get clothes than for the women, and any textile which may be used by women has a high value on the island.

435 Soap comes after clothes in the scale of value. Natives are always willing
439 to work or to exchange curios for soap. Combs, mirrors, cheap rings, or earrings are begged for, but not so eagerly coveted.

The islanders rely mostly on the products of their land for food, but
276 imported products are always welcome changes in the monotony of their
439 menus. Flour, rice, and sugar are either bought at the company store or received as part payment for their work. The tobacco which grows on the island is considered too strong by the natives, who prefer Chilean cigarettes. Smoking is a widespread habit, especially among women.

152 Numerous conflicts have arisen between the natives and the company.
● 648 Stealing has been one of the chief sources of trouble, but many other difficulties have come from the turbulent spirits of the natives and from their easily excited imaginations. Easter Islanders are apt to believe the most unfounded

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rumors, and are easily convinced that others nourish bad intentions toward them. The most serious recent conflict occurred in 1914 (194, pp. 141-149); the natives, encouraged by an old woman named Angata, killed a great many animals and claimed possession of the cattle and land. The uprising was provoked by the action of a white man, but Angata kindled the animosity of the natives by dreams in which God supposedly revealed His will to her. Sure of divine protection, they became very daring. The agitation finally subsided, as such things usually do among the natives who indulge in novelties and soon grow tired of them. There have been more recent disturbances, but none so grave as that witnessed by Routledge. However, since the natives are constantly incited against the company, it is probable that trouble will again arise.

The most interesting aspect of the culture of present-day natives is their very sincere and deep attachment to the Catholic church, though the missionaries did not stay long on the island. The last pagans were baptized only two years before the destruction of the mission. After the departure of the missionaries, the island was without a priest for 16 years. In 1886 Father Hippolyte Roussel returned to the island for 6 months. He was accompanied by Father Albert Montiton. Later, several priests visited the island but stayed only a short time. Recently some Chilean priests have remained longer, among them Father Bienvenido Estella, who has written an account of his experience in Easter Island (80). However, for various reasons, no priest resides there permanently and rites are performed by a catechist of Mangarevan origin. Every day the natives gather in the church to make their prayers together; on Sunday they celebrate a kind of mass, and four times a week they spiritually associate themselves with the masses celebrated throughout the world. The hymns taught by the French missionaries are still sung in the church and the tradition is kept alive by a singing school, presided over by women whose mothers had received the teachings of missionaries. The grip of Christianity has been so strong that very few pagan beliefs or practices have survived. The fear of ghosts and the importance given to prayers are the only traces of primitive religion.

METEOROLOGY

Nights of the Moon

The old Polynesian system of counting time by lunar months in which each night had an individual name was abandoned by the natives when they became Christians. The new faith could not be adapted without the Roman calendar upon which are based all the feasts prescribed by the Catholic Church. The natives are so scrupulous in observance of these holy days that it is not surprising that the European calendar has entirely superseded the primitive system of reckoning time. The old life was so deeply transformed by contact

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NOTES ON THE PRESENT-DAY EASTER ISLANDERS

EDWIN N. FERDON, JR.

EASTER ISLAND, or Rapa-nui, is one of the most isolated high islands in all of Polynesia, being approximately 2,100 miles west of Chile and 1,100 miles east of Pitcairn, the nearest inhabited island to the west. Discovered by Roggeveen in 1722 and visited during the 18th and 19th centuries by such well known Pacific explorers as Cook, La Pérouse, and Beechy, its extreme isolation, tree-barren slopes, and, quite possibly, its lack of good anchorage kept European contact to a minimum. Even today regular contact with the outside world is an annual affair conducted by the Chilean Navy. For years the island was virtually ignored, except for some Catholic missionaries, until Chile, in 1888, took formal possession. Easter Island has, however, never been truly occupied by Chile in the sense of maintaining a permanent settlement of continentals. In time Chile came to lease over four-fifths of the island to a British wool-growing company, and the natives were relegated to the remainder of the land around Hangaroa village. This commercial arrangement continued until 1954 when the government refused to renew the lease and turned over the running of the island, including the sheep ranch, to its Navy personnel.

As a result of the lack of interest in colonization, and the development of ranching interests, the island's foreign population has been kept small. In 1917 there were twenty-one Whites on the island, in 1922 only six, in 1934 thirteen, and today about 30.[1] Except for the church, and the founding of a regular government school in 1934,[2] there appears to have been little intentional effort to convert the natives to Chilean culture. However, owing to the legally enforced requirement that the British wool company maintain a store with such native necessities as cloth, clothing, and various tools and equipment, the islanders came to depend more and more upon the annual shipment of these Chilean products, and less and less upon their environmentally impoverished homecraft manufactures. Owing in part to this situation, acculturation has moved steadily forward on the material culture level and, because it is readily observable, has tended to mask any lags that may exist in the social and psychological patterning of Rapa-nui culture.

1 I. Dreipkin, *Contribution to the Demographic Study of Easter Island* (Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Occasional Papers, vol. 11, no. 12, p. 4, Honolulu, 1935).

2 *Idem*, p. 7.

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[583] 585 [177] great majority follow a formalized pattern. At the present time two Chilean-derived marriage ceremonies take place, a civil marriage on a Saturday and a Catholic church marriage on Sunday. However it is on Saturday, after the civil wedding, that the bridegroom's father gives a large feast for both of the extended families involved in the match. It is at this time that the gifts received by the bride's and bridegroom's fathers are formally distributed among their respective families. [583] To aid in this division of the spoils, a "secretary" is appointed to see that each relative receives a gift of value proportionate to the one he originally gave to the gift exchange. All my informants agreed that the marriage gift-exchange ceremony is a period of great and jovial rivalry to see which family has given the biggest and most valuable gifts.

On Sunday evening after the church wedding a general party for the couple is given, and it is at this time that the bridegroom sings a specially composed song [533] to his bride and she, in turn, sings her special song to him, each going to the other's house for the purpose. It is the best of these songs that have been maintained on Easter Island and today compose the more modern corpus of true Easter Island songs.

591 439 648 135 342 Upon the marriage of a young couple they are free to live in the home of either of their parents, or they may build a home of their own. Actually, living with one or another of the parents is a virtual necessity, owing to the fact that all building materials are brought from the continent once a year by the Chilean Navy and the supply has never caught up with the demand. Further hindering construction is the government's rationing system which, though abundantly fair, allows no single family to buy in one year all the material needed to build a home. This system has [596] resulted in the development, or maintenance, of an extended family pooling system in which, if the family is large enough and each draws his rightful ration of building materials, a house can often be built from the total extended family allotment for a single year. It might also be mentioned that in the construction of such a house, any, or all, of the extended family may be called upon for aid.

423 648 Although the building of a house is a problem, a young couple as yet has no difficulty in obtaining land. At the present time the Chilean government allots the use-rights to five hectarias of terrain to each newly married couple. Formerly an Easter Islander could own his land outright, but this is no longer true, the Chilean government retaining title to all land, owing, apparently, to the strategic nature of the island in the event of war.

606 One of the more interesting facets of Easter Island marriage is the position of the father-in-law in the life of the married couple. Of the two male parents-in-law, it is the girl's father who appears to hold the dominant position of power in the

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DIVORCE

Island marriage appears to be a firmer institution today than it was in the not-too-distant past. This is in part due to Chilean governmental authority backing the church in its taboo against divorce. When divorces do occur, they tend to follow the early Polynesian custom of an unceremonious departure of one of the mates. Owing to the island's government frowning upon such action, and its active interest in making the natives understand that the question of divorce is a legal matter, the Easter Islander's attitude toward divorce is at present in a state of flux.

Jorge Tepano reflected the church and governmental attitude when, in discussing the problem, he took the firm stand that divorce could only be obtained on the basis of adultery and that it was for the governor, in his capacity of judge, to determine who was the guilty party and to make a property settlement on the basis of existing Chilean laws. However, this strongly acculturated view is not necessarily adhered to most commonly. Governor Curti informed me of the marriage of a forty-five year old native to a girl of seventeen. This man built a home alongside that of the girl's parents in an effort to make her comfortable, but the girl refused to live with him in the new house. Becoming angry, he tore the house down and put it up on his own parcel of land, demanding that the girl come to live with him. She again refused, and the matter was taken before the governor. There apparently is no law that specifically demands that a wife live with her husband or, if it exists, it is unenforceable on the island. After various attempts at persuasion, the governor used his prerogative of turning over the woman's ration allowance of foods and dry goods to her husband, but when I left the island this action had had no effect upon the woman, her own family having taken up the burden of supporting her. Officially, as long as the girl did not legally marry again, her action could only be looked upon as a separation, though in native eyes it constitutes a divorce in the old style and is accepted as such. Whereas marriages solemnized by civil and religious ceremonies run into legal difficulties in the event of a divorce, common law marriages appear not to have this difficulty, in spite of the fact that, though legally not recognized, they are tacitly accepted officially to the extent that in the island's rationing lists such illegal matches are listed as family units.

DEATH

The Easter Islander appears to have no personal fear of death and, for the most part, looks upon it from a rather fatalistic point of view. A notable exception to this is seen in his superstitious attitude toward Rongo Rongo caves, whose

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of the parents nor the dead child's brothers and sisters may eat the food. Juan Atan explained this taboo by saying that the *umu* was the dead man's body and, should the immediate family eat it, something bad would happen to the entire extended family. He further explained that such an *umu* must be given by the family, otherwise something terrible would happen to them.

Viewing the *umu* as part of the dead man's body may represent an adoption from the church's taking of the sacrament, yet, considering the earlier practice of cannibalism on the island, such a view may hark back to pre-Christian times.

Originally such a death feast was held on the day of death, but its celebration so irked Father Estella that some years ago he condemned the practice and the natives agreed to hold it on the day after death. It now appears that this has been further modified so that it is held on the day of burial.

STABILITY AND CHANGE

The information reported here is admittedly incomplete. Be this as it may, the data, when compared with Métraux's account of ancient life cycle customs on Easter Island, shows a surprising number of carry-overs into modern times.[7] In the course of our work we have also gathered heretofore unreported information on Rapa-nui customs which seem to be indigenous and of some antiquity, notably the delicate situation of the first born son and his relationship with his father, and the position of authority of the parents-in-law of a married couple.

The foremost changes in the life-cycle segment of the social pattern are to be noted in that sector which would most interest the church. Since the Catholic church represents the earliest and most prolonged actively acculturating influence on the island, this is wholly expectable. In the realm of marriage, for example, the church has been included, rather than substituted, in that to the simple rite of marriage involving consent of both families, gift exchange, and marriage feast, the church ritual has been added. Interestingly enough, the church appears to have had little effect upon the indigenous concept of divorce which, until very recently, consisted to be an unceremonious splitting up of a husband and wife relationship upon the slightest provocation. Here, however, the government has stepped in and, through attempted Naval enforcement of Chilean divorce laws, has introduced a change in the native idea of divorce to where it now involves the factors of blame and division of community property. For those who have not yet accepted this foreign concept, the old method of divorce has met with such troublesome difficul-

7 Alfred Métraux, *Ethnology of Easter Island* (Bulletin 160, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, pp. 101-119, Honolulu, 1940).

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177 586 ties from the island's administrators that its incidence in the past few years is said to have dropped noticeably.

6478 1771 764 799 It is in the matter of death and burial ritual that the church has shown a strong influence amounting to almost complete substitution of foreign for indigenous custom. However, the ancient feast formerly held on the day of death continues to be celebrated, along with the enforcement of certain eating taboos on the members of the deceased's family. The only influence the church has had on this celebration is to change its time to the day of burial. Whereas most of the natives are now seemingly content to have their deceased relatives go through the church ritual and be buried in the Catholic cemetery, I gathered a number of contemporary accounts of elderly men who, becoming ill, have gone to a secret cave to die. During our visit one old man became sick and disappeared from the village for almost two weeks. Since he worked for the sheep ranch, the administration attempted to find out where he had gone and what had happened to him. Considerable questioning brought forth the same answer, that the old man believed he was about to die and had probably gone to his secret cave.[8] In time he returned, well and healthy, but remained completely vague as to where he had been during his absence. As for the burial of the dead in ancient *ahus*, a secretly practiced custom in 1880,[9] I could learn nothing and, from all indications, this practice has ceased.

177 844 [648] Beside the government's influence in lowering the incidence of divorce, it has been responsible in no small degree for a certain amount of change in the early sector of the life cycle. Thus, with the presence of a Naval-controlled hospital, doctor, and midwife, it must be presumed that much of the ancient practice surrounding the delivery of a baby, including the method of tying and severing the umbilical cord, has given way to more modern medical practices. However, it is 114 177 852 interesting to note that the early custom of smearing red ocher into the umbilical wound continues up to the present time, along with the ceremonial *umu* given by the father's family to that of the mother, and at which time the mother must still eat the first food.[10] In this connection it should be noted that, while Métraux refers to this *umu* as a feast, my own informants seemed to regard it more as a [178] ceremonial partaking of food.[11] That such may be the case is further strengthened by their description of an immediately following feast for friends and relatives in celebration of the first born child. The latter is not recorded by Métraux and

8 For an unsuccessful attempt at self-interment in a secret cave in 1922, see P. Sebastian Englert, *La Tierra de Hotu Matu'a* (Santiago, 1948), p. 52.

9 Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

10 *Idem*, pp. 102-108.

11 *Idem*, p. 103.

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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178 and the *koro* feast which Métraux believed to have probably died out.[15] Our description is that of the *koro* given by a man to his father-in-law which took place in Hangaroa in February, 1956. In the matter of divorce we have noted that there is now a tendency to follow Chilean legal procedure, though simple separation following the ancient pattern continues to exist. In the matter of death and burial a few old men would appear to still hold out for non-Christian interment by the expedient of going to secret caves when they believe they are about to die.

Narrow as this study has been in terms of the total culture pattern of the Easter [114] Islanders, it tends to reveal that far more of the ancient social customs continue to exist than was previously thought by Métraux and others.[16] How much more [648] of the old culture may yet survive is difficult to say, for the Rapa-nui is sensitive to the criticism and derision of his Chilean administrators who have tended to look upon most of his customs as child-like and foolish. The result has been a tendency on the part of the islander to publicly depreciate the role that ancient customs play in his life.

Museum of New Mexico
Santa Fe, New Mexico

15 *Idem*, p. 346.

16 *Idem*, p. 97.

3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
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Provincial Director of Public Instruction, Valparaiso. It is entirely due to these circumstances that there is a large number of illiterates among the Easter Islanders, in spite of their remarkable intelligence and their extremely keen desire for education.

Easter Islanders, in the manner of most of the Polynesians, are of an open, observing nature, having extraordinary faculties for assimilation. They are constantly on the watch for every new bit of knowledge and adopt with a veritable passion every innovation, material or intellectual. Individuals of exceptional talent should have special advantages. Their present condition does not favor them at all in this respect.

Because Easter Island belongs to Chile, the official language is Spanish, naturally. Up to the present the Chilean influence consists only of the presence of a Commissioner whose functions include those of Civil Registration Officer and Schoolmaster. Therefore it is not surprising that most of the natives, if they understand Spanish, do not speak it except very badly. Only a small group of individuals are capable of more or less correct expression in this language. The women are even more conservative in their language and traditions; there are few who can carry on a conversation in Spanish.

We shall consider as illiterate all natives who do not read or write any language, for quite a number among them read and write the Easter Island language or Tahitian. Without counting the children under 10, of whom there are 183, there are actually 147 illiterates, that is to say 53.85 percent. One hundred and twenty-six, or 46.15 percent, read and write.

VITAL STATISTICS

It would be necessary, in order to complete this brief contribution to the demography of Easter Island, to give statistics for births, mortality, marriage, sanitary conditions, etc. Unfortunately, various circumstances have made this task impossible. The bureau of civil registry, installed at Hanga Roa in 1915, has been neglected. Also no official census of the population has been made until now. In addition, the island is without doctors who could have studied the sanitary conditions and the causes of death. To complete the difficulty, one series of the records of the civil registry has disappeared.

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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minds also, the contrast between the monuments, indicative of a flourishing and skillful population, and the desolation they found about them was a peculiar enigma. They spoke of cataclysms, of volcanic eruptions, that might have changed the course of the island's history, but these were pure guesses based on superficial observation.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, a different group of visitors appeared. These were the whalers, most of them enterprising New Englanders in pursuit of business and adventure in the South Seas. A few echoes of their experiences come to us in indirect ways. Thus we know that the captain of one of these ships kidnapped several men who afterward escaped and tried to swim back to their island although they were 3 days out. It is not surprising that relations between the whalers and the natives were far from cordial. Too often the ships' officers resorted to impressing the islanders into their service. Such incidents explain the hostility shown to some European navigators between 1820 and 1830 when they attempted to land. But these brief visits of Yankee sailors were not without benefit to the study of Easter Island. Thanks to their collecting instinct, numerous precious specimens of its early art have been well preserved in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and the Peabody Museum at Salem. In Cambridge, besides various wood and stone carvings, there are two images brought from the island, made of bark stuffed with bulrushes, which represent a branch of its artistic tradition otherwise entirely unknown. They are covered with painted designs that reproduce, with fine and precise workmanship, the elaborate patterns used in tattooing up to a hundred years ago. In this respect the old Easter Islanders rivaled the achievements of the Marquesans.

In 1859 a frightful disaster befell the islanders when Peruvian blackbirders attacked the island and kidnapped the king, a large number of the nobles and priests, and many hundred commoners, all of whom were carried off to the guano islands of Peru to work as slaves. Most of the people died within a short time. When at last the few survivors were repatriated by a French ship, they spread among the remaining islanders the smallpox and tuberculosis contracted in Peru. Thus within a few years most of the native population and with them the vital links with the past were wantonly destroyed.

The mystery of Easter Island became still deeper when, in 1864, the first Christian missionaries (members of the French Order of the Sacred Heart) arrived and tried to obtain from the natives details about the origin of the statues, and the methods that had been used to transport them—since many of them had obviously been moved from the place where the stone was quarried. Their answers to questions of this kind were unilluminating and showed that they had only a vague tradition of what had happened before their time. Their ignorance, combined with the state of primitive poverty into which they

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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point of the bay and saw a considerable number of natives posted on the heights, who collected nearer to the middle of the bay as we sailed towards it, so that by the time we let go there must have been more than 800 people, divided in batches, all wearing cloaks of a yellow colour or white. There was not the least appearance of hostility, nor of the implements of war about them; I only saw many demonstrations of rejoicing and much yelling.

At 8 o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in this bay in 18 fathoms, gravel, coral, small shells, and fine sand. We moored East and West with one anchor to the E. and a kedge to the W. We saw some natives swim off and pass on board of the Commodore; the rest remained on the sea beach, in loose cloaks, shouting with delight and giving other signs, all intended to make us aware of their docility and of their desire to come on board or to see us on shore. At midday the two launches of both ships started (by the Commodore's orders), commissioned to examine and explore the whole circuit of the island, which up to this time we had understood to be a short one. To this end combatant officers, pilots, marines, and the necessary seamen were embarked, with six days' provisions, while the Commodore was making arrangements as to the mode of communicating with the natives, and for giving effect to the orders he bore. We have ascertained that what we took for shrubs of a pyramidal form are in reality statues or images of the idols which the natives worship; they are of stone, and of such a height and corpulence that they look like great thick columns; and as I afterwards ascertained in examining them and taking their dimensions the entire body is of a single block, and the crown or head-dress of another: there is a small concavity on the upper surface of the latter in which they place the bones of their dead, from which it may be inferred that they serve at once for idols and funeral pyres. But it

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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136 seen in it. Even the marine species do not settle on its shores nor fly within sight of it: the same is the case with regard to beetles, insects, &c.

342 Most of the natives of the island dwell in underground caves, or in the hollow of some rock, the entrances to which are so narrow and inconvenient that I have seen some of them introduce themselves in the opposite manner to what is natural, beginning by projecting their feet and the head last. The more polished or powerful persons, whether in [554] virtue of their age or of authority, are held in esteem. These inhabit small huts covered with reeds [*totora*], and constructed in the form of a large tunnel, in whose bilge or bellying portion [*vientre ò bariga*] is the entrance, after the manner of a trap-door for cats' egress, so narrow that only one man can pass in or out at a time, and that with effort. Others (whom I believe to be their ministers) occupy dwellings close to the statues; these are built of earth below, but with an entrance way or porch of very roughly hewn and clumsily set up stones, after the fashion of a wall, with a certain number of steps for passing from one platform or surface of ground to another on different levels.

324 It is known that they work the stone, on which may be seen several different figures, squares, oblongs, arcs [*rumbos*], triangles, and trapezia, by means of another stone of harder substance than the mass, and the same method is followed, I believe, in fashioning the statues.

● 648 On the afternoon of this day during a rain squall with little wind from the S.W. our cable parted, having chafed completely through against a coral rock, fragments of which came up embedded among the strands of the two broken ends. We spent the evening in making ready for the succeeding day, on which we were to formally disembark and take possession of the island, and to erect upon it three crosses which had been got ready for the purpose on board the Commodore.

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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Tuesday, 20th. The day dawned with the horizon overcast, the wind light from E.S.E. with occasional gusts; but the Commodore decided to carry into effect the projected expedition notwithstanding, and to this end 250 men, troops and seamen, were detached to go ashore, well armed and under the command of Don Alberto Olaondo, senior lieutenant and captain of marines, with other officers and subalterns, and instructions to pass inland towards the western side of the island in order to make a reconnaissance of the country-side thereabouts, and to draw the attention of the natives in that direction while the three aforementioned crosses were being set up on three hillocks which are at the eastern end. 648

This precaution was not taken through any fear that the natives might offer opposition to the execution [of our project] but only in order to avoid the tumult with which they proceed about all their operations, as they would have been so much in our way as to considerably retard us. While the launches and boats conveyed the first section of people to the shore, the second batch was being got ready, consisting of a similar number, and commanded by Don Buenaventura Moreno, senior lieutenant and captain of marines, with the necessary officers, amongst whom I was included by the Commodore's order, for the purpose of establishing proper marks and bases for the construction of the most exact plan and truest coast-line of this bay, and for fixing the positions of the most noticeable heights of the island.

When the boats of the first party returned we set out in the same order, escorted by troops from this frigate, accompanying the three crosses with colours flying and drums beating. In this manner, and in excellent order, we arrived at a small bay which lies to the eastward, and had been selected for the disembarkation as possessing the only convenient expanse of beach in all the roadstead. We landed here without meeting with any obstacle, and

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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648 were received by a considerable gathering of natives, who manifested much merriment, with a great deal of yelling. On the party forming up, together with those bearing arms, we set out on the march, accompanied by the natives, who lent a willing hand in carrying the crosses, singing and dancing in their fashion as they went. We made the whole circuit of the bay with some pains, for the ground was rough and rugged, although level, a great retinue of natives collecting round us all the while as far as the foot of the rise, where the most part of them quitted us on account of the troublesome and protracted nature of the ascent. At half-past one we arrived at the place at which the crosses were to be set up, and this was concluded with full rejoicings, after the benediction and adoration of the holy images, by the whole concourse of people, on seeing which the natives went through the same ceremony.

On the crosses being planted on their respective hill-tops the Spanish ensign was hoisted, and the troops being brought to 'Attention!' under arms, D[n] Joseph Bustillo, junior Captain, took possession of the island of San Carlos with the accustomed ceremonies in the name of the King of Spain, our lord and master Don Carlos the Third, this day, the 20th of November, 1770. The procedure was duly witnessed with the proper formalities; and for the greater confirmation of so serious an act some of the natives present signed or attested the official document by marking upon it certain characters in their own form of script[1]. Then we cheered the king seven times, next to which followed a triple volley of musketry from the whole party, and, lastly, our ships saluted with 21 guns. The function being concluded, and all hands mustered up in marching order, we returned to the same place where we disembarked, and where our launches and boats were in attendance. In these we were conveyed on board, and all

[1] See the Plate at p. 48.

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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the officers in succession thereupon offered their felicitations and congratulations to the Commodore, who then fixed the following day for their departure from the bay, in consequence of his mission there being now happily concluded.

Wednesday, 21st. At 11 o'clock in the forenoon (being all ready to get under way and expecting the Commodore to make the signal) our cable parted close to the ring of the anchor; and the wind being fresh we made sail in order to avoid being driven on to the rocks or risking another anchor. As soon as we had gained an offing we hove to to await the Commodore, who joined company with us at two o'clock in the afternoon, and we set our course W. ¼ N.W., coasting along the north side of the island and proceeding in search of the other one shown on the Dutch chart of Wam Keullena[1] in the same latitude. At four o'clock the western point of the island of San Carlos bore S., distant about 4 leagues, and I took my departure from that position, fixing the latitude as 27° 16′, and the longitude 266° 50′. At sundown the said point bore S.W. ¼ S.[2] We continued all night with a moderate breeze from E. and E.S.E.: backing at times.

Thursday, 22nd. Lat. by observation 26° 58′, long. 265° 26′. Course 76°, 3rd quadt. Distance 76 ½ miles. Wind from the 2nd quadt. We continued lying to at night, and during the daytime we kept on under a pressure of canvas.

Friday, 23rd. Lat. by observation 27° 5′, long. 263° 38′. Course 85° 45′, 3rd quadt. Distance 95 miles: wind from the 2nd quadt., fresh. At noon we reckoned ourselves

[1] Evidently meant for Van Keulen, the well known chartographer, and publisher of *De Nieuwe groote lichtende Zee-fakkel*: Amsterdam, 1728.

[2] Probably an error for S.E. ¼ S.

7: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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o'clock, thus terminating our expedition without other adventures than already related. 133

We were satisfied that the roadstead in which we lay at anchor is the best the whole island affords, excepting that of San Juan, to which we did not remove, as we should so soon be leaving this country again, inasmuch as there only remained for us to take possession of it in the name of the King. 648

On the 20th, at daybreak, all the seamen bearing arms embarked in the launches and cutters of both vessels, under Don Alberto Olaondo[1], Captain of Marines, with his party of marines and those from the frigate, who together made up 250 men. All these proceeded towards the interior of the island to survey the country. Our Commander [*segundo capitan*], Don José Bustillos[2], went with another body of marines and seamen, and the two chaplains, who conveyed with them three crosses to be erected on three hill-tops which, as may be seen on the Plan, exist at the N.E. point of the island.

A great number of the native inhabitants received them on landing, and offered to assist our officers in the disembarkation, which, in fact, they did; and took charge of the three crosses, which they carried up to the said hills: the chaplains chanting Litanies, and the islanders joining with our people in the responses, *ora pro nobis*. At the moment of digging the hole on the centre hill, a fine spring of fresh water broke out, very good and abundant. The crosses being planted the party fired three volleys of musketry, and the ships replied with twenty-one guns each, to the joyful shout of *Viva el Rey*. The islanders responded with our own people; they pronounce with such ease that they repeat whatever is said to them just like ourselves. This undertaking being achieved we all returned on board. [153]

[1] 'Leonda' in the MS.; evidently Capt. Olaondo is again meant.
[2] 'José Gustillo' in the MS.; evidently Josef Bustillos is intended.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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estimated at 20,000, although other calculations give much smaller figures. I am of the opinion that in the days of the image and platform builders the population might have been even larger.

About the year 1863 the Peruvians carried off from the island in 15 vessels, as it is alleged, 5,000 of the inhabitants as agricultural laborers in Peru and to work the guano deposits of the Chincha Islands. By reason of the odium attached to this proceeding, the Peruvian Government, some time afterwards, was induced to return those who had not succumbed to their treatment and altered conditions of life. Smallpox broke out among these on the return voyage. It is stated that all except two died, and the disease, spreading among the people ashore, ravaged the island, many deaths resulting. Of those carried off by the Peruvians one old man, Pakomeo, who was taken to the Chinchas, and whom we saw, still survives, the last of the unfortunates.

Down to the year 1861 cannibalism is said to have been practiced by the natives. In that year a Jesuit mission was established on the island, at which time the population numbered about 1,500. Through the influence and teachings of the missionaries an almost radical change was wrought in the manners, habits, and character of the people, and, to a certain extent at least, they adopted the customs of civilized life.

When H. M. S. *Topaze* visited the island in 1868 there were but about 900 natives left, of whom less than 300 were females, with the numbers still rapidly declining, the proportion of deaths to births being given as 3 to 1. About the year 1875 some 500 were removed to Tahiti under contract to work on the sugar plantations of that island.

In the year 1878 the missionaries, who had done admirable work among them, departed from the island, taking with them about 300 of the people, who settled Gambier Archipelago.

When H. M. S. *Sappho* touched at the island in 1882 it was reported that but 150 of the inhabitants were left.

On the occasion of the *Mohican's* visit I received from Mr. Salmon, who had a complete census, with the names of every man, woman, and child on the island, the following summary:

Natives	155
Foreigners	11
Total number of inhabitants	166
Native men	48
Native women	43
Boys under 15 years of age	17
Girls under 15 years of age	27
Total number of natives	155
Tahitians	6
English	2
Americans	2
Frenchmen	1
Total number of foreigners	11

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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rial, printed or plain, for the women. Shoes are worn on only special occasions of ceremony, as, for example, during our visit. On their heads both sexes alike wear hats, the material of which is either bulrushes or long, slender leaves, torn into narrow strips, braided and then sewn together spirally. In making these they are far behind other islanders, the Tahitians more especially, attributable mainly, however, to the want of proper material rather than to the lack of intelligence.

Crimes of any sort, but especially the graver ones, are of great rarity, and murder, at the present day, unknown. Petty thieving is common, is considered a venial offense, and the injured party seeks redress by stealing in kind, if possible, but in any event, stealing from the thief. There are no punishments, so called. Mr. Salmon, who is guide, philosopher, and friend to these people, unites in his person (and being a giant in stature, he can well contain them) the duties of referee, arbiter, judge. They entertain the greatest respect for him; evince the utmost affection; look up to him as their master; go to him with all their troubles; refer to him all their disputes and grievances. His word is law, and his decisions final and undisputed.

There is a schoolhouse in which the people are taught from books translated into Rapa Nui language by the priests formerly here, and most of the natives can read and write. The functions of pedagogue are performed, after a fashion, by Pakomeo, the survivor of the Peruvian captives, who is also a preacher among them and conducts the services at the little church. The form of salutation on meeting is kohomai, "come to me." The reply, koe, which means "thou," you, yourself. In Tahiti, Society Islands, and Rarotonga it is, ia-ora-na, "may you live in God." In the Samoan group, kalofa, "love to you" and tofa, "may you sleep."

With regard to the burial rites, it may be stated that no particular respect is shown persons of rank while living; still less do they receive any special funeral ceremonies when dead. All are treated alike in this regard, on the principle, presumably, that death levels all. The period of mourning extends over three days, and the rites are simple enough. Nowadays the service of the church is usually invoked. The body is carried out of the house and removed to some distance, either in the open plain, or to one of the image platforms, or into a cave, where it is exposed to sun and air (incidentally, it may be mentioned, also to predatory rats and cats in a semiwild state, which roam the island in large numbers, the former especially) until either dry, decomposed, or partially devoured. In the caves the remains are then shoved into an out-of-the-way corner and walled in with loose stones. At the platforms they may be laid away under a gigantic prostrate stone image, or placed in an excavation, either in the face or floor of the platform, or simply put in a convenient spot and covered up with stones. On the plains a circular conical cairn, truncated at top, 6 to 8 feet high, and built of loose bowlders, is frequently erected over the remains. Often the bones

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

impossible for him to rejoin us. He went back later to England, and fell in the service of his country in September 1915. The *Mana* returned to Juan Fernandez and waited there till the fear of further cases developing on board had passed. The island is strikingly beautiful, with high mountains, deep gorges, and wonderful vegetation. It has a few score inhabitants under the charge of one old gentleman as magistrate and some four gendarmes. Here the *Dresden* sought refuge after the battle of the Falkland Islands, and when found by our navy claimed that she was interned. The chief celebrity connected with the place is of course the renowned Alexander Selkirk. His cave is shown and also his look-out point on the crest of the dividing ridge of the island.

From Juan Fernandez we sailed westward for three weeks, and at length in the grey dawn of March 29 Easter Island was sighted. It was thirteen months since we had left Southampton, of which we had been 147 days under way. As our goal at last hove in view a hush fell over the party, broken by the despairing voice of the ship's cook, "I don't know how I am expected to make a fire on that island; there is no wood." He spoke the truth. Easter Island has probably never had much more than brushwood and shrubs; but to-day it is used as a cattle ranch by a Chilean Company, and even that vegetation has disappeared.

The island is of recent volcanic formation, triangular in shape and curiously symmetrical. The highest ground is in the northern angle where an extinct volcanic mass rises to 1700 feet. Both the eastern and western angles are also formed by old volcanoes. At these high points erosion has caused imposing vertical cliffs on the seaward side; elsewhere the shoreline consists of low cliffs only, rising to not more than 50 to 100 feet above sea-level. The main portion of the island is composed of sheets of lava in process of disintegration, across which walking is almost impossible, and riding a very slow process. It is diversified at intervals by cones of volcanic ash some hundreds of feet in height, each with its own small crater. Grass covers the whole area, sprouting up on the lower ground between the masses of lava and covering the hills in such manner as to give them a down-like appearance. A few of the craters have lakes, but there is not one surface stream, and the water-supply is a great difficulty. There is no safe anchorage, and after the *Mana* had landed the shore party and stores she was sent back to Chile for mails and fresh provisions. She made altogether seven trips between Easter Island and the mainland, covering in these passages alone 14,800 nautical miles.

The shore party consisted at this time of our two selves, Lieut. Ritchie, the yacht's engineer, who was also photographer, the cook, and for a short while a Chilean boy from Juan Fernandez. Our experiences on the island were of a more exciting nature than had been anticipated, but as they have already been told they need only brief mention now.

The native population is of Polynesian race, and numbers at the present time about 250. They are confined to the district on the western

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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side, in which the village is situated, in order to prevent depredations on the livestock of the Company. The allotment of ground is ample. About 2 miles from the village is the house of the manager, Mr. Edmunds, an Englishman who was at the time of our arrival the only white man on the island, with the exception of a French carpenter who lived in the village with a native wife. Mr. Edmunds was good enough to allow our party the use of rooms in his house when we were at this end of the island. For our work at the other end of the island we had a camp near the mountain of Rano Raraku, of which more will be said hereafter. Soon after the *Mana's* departure the natives rose in revolt. An old woman had a dream that the island belonged to them, and all the livestock, though the latter had of course been imported by Europeans. They therefore defied all authority and for five weeks made repeated raids on both sheep and cattle, eating their fill and destroying far more than they could consume. The position was very difficult. It was obvious that order could only be restored by shooting, and if shooting was once begun it must be continued until complete safety was established. News however had reached us that the Chilean naval training ship which occasionally called at the island might shortly be expected, and it seemed wisest so long as property only was threatened to try and hold on. Things however went from bad to worse. The rebels ordered away the servants of the manager, and were actually assembling in the village to come and take possession of his house, with threats to murder him if he resisted, when to our very great relief the Chilean warship dropped anchor in the bay, and four of the ringleaders were shortly in irons. This was at the beginning of August 1914, and the vessel had left Chile just before the European crisis, of which consequently we had no news. It was therefore without any particular interest that two months later, in October, we heard of the arrival of a squadron of German ships—the fleet which subsequently met its doom off the Falkland Islands. We were at that time working at the other side of the island, and were merely annoyed that all our employés of course went off at once to see what they could beg from the new-comers. The ships, which were busy taking on board large supplies of fresh meat, did not think well to enlighten us, and it was not until five days later that the news of the war leaked out through the crews. Then we heard also that England was a Republic, as were Canada and Australia; that India was in flames; and I know not how many English ships had been sunk off the mouth of the Thames. Then Von Spee and his ships departed, and the quiet sea once more wrapped us round. The yacht was happily absent on one of her trips, and there was no news of her. Two months later, in December, my husband got the chance of a passage to Chile to see after her, and was unfortunately detained for weeks at Valparaiso by severe illness. Lieut. Ritchie had returned to England on the expiration of the period for which his services had been lent, and for this time—fourteen weeks in all—the ship's cook and myself represented the Expedition on

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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from sixty to five hundred. One of the voyagers goes so far as to say that "all the country was under cultivation." As for the inhabitants, they were, they tell us, of all shades of colour, yellow, white, and brown, and wore clothes made of a "field product," evidently tapa. They were "painted," which apparently signifies tattooed, and it was the habit to distend the lobes of their ears so that they hung to the shoulders, and large discs were worn in them. "When these Indians," wrote Roggeveen, "go about any job which might set their ear-plugs wagging, and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim of the lobe up over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint and laughable appearance."[1]

The natives were extraordinarily thievish, stealing the caps from the seamen's heads, while one actually climbed into the port-hole of the cabin and took the cloth off the table. These habits gave rise to an unfortunate incident, as when the visitors came on shore, a scuffle took place over the sanctity of property, and the natives began throwing stones, on which a petty official gave the order to fire, ten or twelve natives being killed. The occurrence, however, was duly explained, and did not terminate amicable relations. We learn that at this time the great statues, of which this is of course the first report, were then, as has already been noted, standing and in place. The Dutchmen describe them as "remarkable, tall, stone figures, a good 30 feet in height," and notice that they have crowns on their heads; a clear space was, they said, reserved round them by laying stones. They have no doubt that the figures are objects of worship; the natives "kindle fires in front of them, and thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them." Another observer adds, in connection with this worship, that they "prostrated themselves towards the rising sun." A great step would have been gained towards the solution of the problem if we could feel assured that these last remarks were justified and were not merely the result of imperfect observation.[2]

[1] Precisely the same habit obtains to-day among the Akikuyu in East Africa.

[2] For Roggeveen's description of the Island see *Voyage of Gonzales*. Hakluyt Society, Series II., vol. xiii., pp. 3 to 26.
A statement of the evidence re Davis Island is given in the introduction to the same volume.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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There is the same story of the native powers of ap-
propriating the goods of the strangers. Cook says that they 648
were "as expert thieves as any we had yet met with," and
Pérouse, whose own hat they stole while helping him down one
of the image platforms, is particularly aggrieved at such con-
duct, considering that he has given them sheep, goats, pigs, and
other valuable presents; peace was only kept between the crew
and the natives by official compensation being given the seamen
for their lost property.

Here, however, the resemblance of these accounts with that 241
of Roggeveen ends. The descriptions which are given by these
later expeditions of the state of the country, and its facilities
as a port of call, are very different from those of the Dutchmen.
The Spaniards speak of it as being uncultivated save for some
small plots of ground. The Englishmen are the reverse of
enthusiastic. Forster calls it a "poor land," and Cook says that
"no nation need contend for the honour of the discovery of this
island, as there can be few places which afford less convenience
for shipping." "Poultry" now consists of only a "few tame [231]
fowls"—later still we find that only one is produced. Pérouse,
although he is not so depressed as Cook, tells us that only one-
tenth of the land is cultivated. With regard to the population
Roggeveen gives no number, and probably was not in a position
to do so. The estimates made by the Spanish and English are 161
very similar. Gonzalez puts it at nine hundred to one thousand,
Cook at seven hundred; both of them, however, state that the
number of women seen seemed to be disproportionately small.
La Pérouse, writing of course some years later, speaks of the
number as two thousand and has seen many women and children. [197]
Both English and French are interested to find that the language
is similar to that spoken elsewhere in the Pacific.

Again, in dealing with the state of the monuments and the 532
way in which they were regarded, the impressions of the later
observers differ greatly from those of Roggeveen. The Spaniards
do not tell us very much. They saw from the sea what they
thought were bushes symmetrically put up on the beach, and
dotted about inland; later they found that they were in reality
statues, and they wondered particularly how their crowns, which
they observed were of a different material, were raised into place.
It was one of the Spanish officers who states, as recorded at the
beginning of this book, that the seashore was lined with stone

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demolition has gone so far that Beechey declares "the existence of any busts is doubtful."[1] It is amusing to find, a hundred years after Roggeveen's similar experience, that the *Blossom* has an affray with natives over the stealing of caps. While attention has been drawn to the importance of these early narratives, it must be remembered that all the visits were of very short duration, and that the old voyagers were not trained observers. The Dutchmen, for instance, deliberately tell us that the statues have no arms. The accounts frequently give the impression of being written up afterwards from somewhat vague recollection, and in most cases the narrators have read those of their predecessors and go prepared to see certain things. One navigator who never landed assures us that the houses are the same as in the days of La Pérouse. On the other hand, with regard to the stores available, they are, so to speak, on their own quarter-deck, and their remarks can be accepted without question.

In the "sixties" of last century the great series of changes took place which brought Easter Island into touch with the modern world. The first of these largely broke those chains with the past which the archæologist now seeks to reconstruct. Labour was needed by the exploiters of the Peruvian guano fields, and an attempt which was made to introduce it from China having failed, slave-raids were organised in the South Sea Islands. As early as 1805 Easter had suffered similarly at the hands of American sealers, and it was amongst the principal islands to be laid under contribution in December 1862.

It is pathetic even now to hear the old men describe the scenes which they witnessed in their youth, illustrating by action how the raiders threw down on the ground gifts which they thought likely to attract the inhabitants, and, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for them, tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. The natives say that one thousand in all were so removed from the island, and, unfortunately, there were amongst them some of the principal men, including many of the most learned, and the last of the ariki, or chiefs. Representations were made by the French Minister at Lima, and a certain number were put on board ship to be returned to their home. Smallpox, however, had been contracted by them, and out of one hundred who were

[1] *Voyage to the Pacific, H.M.S. "Blossom,"* p. 41.

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to be repatriated, only fifteen survived. These, on their return to the island, brought the disease with them, which spread rapidly with most fatal results to the population.

Meantime, shortly before the raid, the attention of the Roman Catholic "Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary" in Valparaiso had been drawn to the island by the account received from a passing ship, and they determined to inaugurate a mission. Three of the Community left for Easter Island, their route taking them by way of Tahiti. Finally, only one continued, Eugène Eyraud, who landed on the island in January 1864. Eyraud was a lay brother in the Order, having been a merchant in South America; he devoted his life to the call to take the Gospel to Easter, and the accounts of his work, which are extraordinarily interesting, leave a great impression of his courage and devotion.[1] He was alone on the island for eight or nine months, and was at the mercy of the natives, who stole his belongings, even to the clothes he was wearing, and compelled him to make a boat for them. In March 1866, Eyraud, after a visit to Chile, returned with another missionary, Father Roussel, and the two were for a while blockaded in a house which they had put up, but the tide now turned. Either Roussel was a man of greater determination than Eyraud, or with increased numbers a firmer attitude was possible. Surgeon Palmer of H.M.S. *Topaze* tells us that when one of the natives took up a stone with a menacing gesture, Roussel quietly felled him with his stick and went on his way, after which there was no further trouble. The missionaries were joined later in the year by two more of their number, and became a power in the land.

Eyraud on his return from Chile was suffering from phthisis, of which he died in August 1868. When he was nearing his end he asked Roussel if there still remained any heathen in the island, to which the Father replied "not one"; the last seven had been baptized on the Feast of the Assumption. It seems natural to connect with Eyraud's illness the fact that there was at the same time a severe epidemic of phthisis in the island; so little was the need of precaution understood at this date, that even Surgeon Palmer, writing of the inroads made by consumption, remarks "which they (the natives) believe infectious."[2]

[1] See *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1866, 1867, 1869.
[2] *Journal Ethnological Society*, Vol. i. p. 373.

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The ravages of this disease, following on those of smallpox, reduced the population, which at the time of the arrival of the mission had stood at twelve hundred, by about one-fourth.

The remarks of the missionaries on native customs, particularly those dealing with their ceremonies, reflect credit on the observers at a time when such things were too often thought beneath notice; they will be referred to later. Their ethnological work was, however, limited by more pressing exigencies, by the difficulties of locomotion on the island, and by the language. Roussel compiled a vocabulary, which is useful to students, though not free from the mode of thought found in a well-known missionary dictionary, which translates hansom cab into the Swahili language. It is a curious fact that so completely were the terraces now ruined that the Fathers never allude to the statues, and seem scarcely to have realised their existence; but it is through them that we first hear of the wooden tablets carved with figures. The body of professors acquainted with this art of writing perished, either in Peru or by epidemic, and this, in connection with the introduction of Christianity, led to great destruction of the existing specimens of this most interesting script. The natives said that they burnt the tablets in compliance with the orders of the missionaries, though such suggestion would hardly be needed in a country where wood is scarce; the Fathers, on the contrary, state that it was due to them that any were preserved. Some certainly were saved by their means and through the interest shown in them by Bishop Jaussen of Tahiti, while two or three found their way to museums after the natives became aware of their value; but some or all of these existing tablets are merely fragments of the original. The natives told us that an expert living on the south coast, whose house had been full of such glyphs, abandoned them at the call of the missionaries, on which a man named Niari, being of a practical mind, got hold of the discarded tablets and made a boat of them wherein he caught much fish. When the "sewing came out," he stowed the wood into a cave at an ahu near Hanga Roa, to be made later into a new vessel there. Pakarati, an islander now living, found a piece, and it was acquired by the U.S.A. ship *Mohican*.

Side by side with the establishment of the religious power the secular had come into being. The master of the ship who had

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brought the last two missionaries was a certain Captain Dutrou Bornier. He had been attracted by the place, and, having made financial arrangements with the mercantile house of Brander in Tahiti, settled himself on the island and proceeded to exploit it commercially. Title-deeds were obtained from the natives in exchange for gifts of woven material. The remaining population was gathered together into one settlement at Hanga Roa, the native name for the shore of Cook's Bay. This was the state of things when H.M.S. *Topaze* touched in 1868 and carried off the two statues now at the British Museum.

Dutrou Bornier had at first spoken enthusiastically of the work of the missionaries; later, however, the not unknown struggle arose between the religious and secular powers. According to the accounts of the missionaries, they protested against the actions of Bornier in taking over two hundred natives, practically by force, and shipping them to Tahiti to work on the Brander plantations. Bornier retaliated by rendering their position impossible, and the Fathers ultimately received orders to transfer their labours to the Gambier islands. Jaussen tells us that their converts desired to accompany them, and that almost the whole population went on board with them. The captain, however, instigated by Bornier, refused to carry so many, and one hundred and seventy-five were sent back to the shore. This, therefore, "was the whole population" in 1871. We have not Bornier's account of the quarrel, but there seems to have been some justification for the attitude of the missionaries towards him, as five years later he was murdered by the natives, and, if current stories are to be believed, his end was well merited.

Subsequently one of the Branders lived at Mataveri, and Mr. Alexander Salmon, to whom the missionaries sold their interests, at Vaihu on the south coast.[1] The Salmon family had intermarried with the royal family of Tahiti, and the new resident was well aware of the value of antiquities. According to native accounts he organised a band to search the caves and hiding-places for articles of interest. They also state that he employed skilled natives to produce wooden objects connected with their older culture for sale to passing ships. He spoke the

[1] The above statement is made on the authority of Mr. John Brander of Tahiti. According to report of H.M.S. *Sappho*, which visited the island in 1882, Salmon was then an agent of the Maison Brander.